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## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: **CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM**  
**RELEASE AS SANITIZED**

NO.

DATE

25 JAN 54

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. [ ]		16 Feb	[ ]	Rybat / PB Success
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**CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM**  
**RELEASE AS SANITIZED**

25 January 1954

**2003**

MEMORANDUM FOR: C/P

SUBJECT : Proposed PP Program, Stage Two, PBSUCCESS

I. General Objectives:

A. Program for PBSUCCESS, un-numbered TS Document dated 12 November 1953, stated two general objectives for PBSUCCESS:

"1. To remove covertly, and without bloodshed if possible, the menace of the present Communist-controlled government of Guatemala."

"2. To install and sustain, covertly, a pro-US government in Guatemala."

B. In conformity with the above general objectives of PBSUCCESS, the general objectives of the overall PBSUCCESS PP program should be:

1. To instill covertly, in the various Guatemalan social groups as appropriate, a revolutionary program that inspires their will to remove, without bloodshed if possible, the menace of the present Communist-controlled government of Guatemala.

2. To instill covertly, through the revolutionary program, a political climate in Guatemala that will support a pro-US government.

II. General Objectives for Stage Two, Preliminary Conditioning:

A. Stage One Report, PBSUCCESS, un-numbered TS Document dated 15 December 1953, stated four general PP objectives for Stage Two:

"B. Create dissension and defection within the target."

"C. Discredit target at home and abroad."

"D. Demonstrate inability of target regime to represent best interests of people."

"E. Create hope and encourage patience among non-Communists."

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B. The themes and methods of media employment hereinafter proposed are designed to achieve the above objectives of Stage Two.

### III. Phasing:

A. The above general objectives for Stage Two call for three phases of public mood to be engendered during Stage Two:

1. Depression (Objectives C and D)
2. Division (Objective B)
3. Hope and Patience (Objective E)

B. The themes and methods of media employment hereinafter proposed follow this phasing.

### IV. General Summary of Target Groups; Approaches, Media:

#### A. Political Leadership Group

##### 1. Description

a. Hostile. There are approximately 100 Moscow-trained Communist leaders, 1,500-3,000 CP members, and several thousand pro-government politicians, officials, and labor leaders.

b. Friendly. There are, in and outside Guatemala, two anti-Communist leaders, perhaps 50 "hard-core" anti-Communist students, and several hundred active anti-Communist politicians, professional people, businessmen, and labor leaders.

##### 2. General Approach

Primarily intellectual and theoretical propaganda with the following objectives:

a. Discredit Communism and irreconcilable Communists, within and without Guatemala.

b. Begin doubt and defection among weaker Communists and fellow-travelers.

c. Give the anti-Communists self-assurance and rally them around the promise of a positive platform.

d. Energize politically less active individuals to join the anti-Communist leadership.

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### 3. Media

a. PT/1, [REDACTED] El Rebelde, the anti-Communist student paper being published weekly in Guatemala City, supported and partially controlled by CIA. Because of the traditional influence of students on Guatemalan politics and the connection of Rebelde backers with other anti-Communist groups, this medium appears suited to leadership-level propaganda.

b. PT/13, PT/14. Radio. The proposed clandestine radio, or RUFUS stations, will be heard by friendly and hostile leadership groups, and will therefore devote part of its time specifically to them.

c. PT/2, PT/12. Overt Press. Certain general attacks on Communist theory and practice can be planted in the Guatemalan overt, independent press through ~~press~~ and, possibly, C cut-outs J

d. PT/5, PT/9, PT/10, Hos. Mail from outside.

e. PT/12, Hos. Mail to outside, ostensibly from target.

### B. Military Leadership

#### 1. Description

a. Hostile. There are approximately 750 army officers on duty with the army or in other government posts, who must be assumed to be hostile until proven otherwise.

b. Friendly. RUFUS, in addition to his personal staff, claims to be able to make available 300 men. Retired army officers and non-coms within Guatemala may be candidates for this group.

#### 2. General Approach

Primarily propaganda on politico-military and military subjects with the following objectives:

a. Discredit army officers who adhere unwaveringly to Arbenz and the Communists. *not well defined*

b. Convince less committed army officers of the futility and danger of the present course, and begin their defection.

c. Give the RUFUS forces a political conviction for their PM training and employment. *not well defined*

d. Recruit for the RUFUS forces..

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3. Media

a. PT/6, PT/12. The writing staff of CEUAGE, a RUFUS-directed emigre student publication in Honduras, should abandon its current work and instead begin publication of a weekly, entitled approximately "Nuestro Ejercito Nuevo," for circulation to both Guatemalan officers and RUFUS trainees. ?   
 ✓ ?

b. PT/13, PT/14. Radio. The clandestine radio, or RUFUS stations, will be heard by Guatemalan officers, and will therefore devote part of its time specifically to them.

c. C/S, Guatemala. US Military Missions in Guatemala. The US Military Mission personnel will be requested to serve, by chance remarks and innuendo, the demoralization of the Guatemalan Army.

c. PT/2, PT/12. Overt Press. A certain amount of consternation and doubt can be communicated to Guatemalan officers by articles planted in the Guatemalan independent, overt press, possibly through Guatemala Station. L J

C. Political Followers

1. Description

a. Hostile. Politically complaisant and opportunistic businessmen, professional people, landowners, workers, farmers, government officials, policemen, etc., are a hostile asset until proved otherwise. The number of such politically conscious followers is perhaps 200,000, the highest number of people who ever voted in Guatemala.

b. Friendly. The same groups are variously reported to be 90 per cent anti-Communist at heart.

2. General Approach

Primarily factual, or allegedly factual, "what's-in-it-for-me" propaganda with the following objectives:

a. Create serious worry and fear about personal economic situations.

b. Create feeling that followers' political collaboration is cause of their dire economic prospects.

c. Offer choice between collaboration and misery vs. changed political attitude, and prosperity.

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d. Offer choice between collaboration and punishment vs. changed political attitude, forgiveness, and prosperity.

3. Media

a. PT/3, PT/12. The writing staff of FAGE, a RUFUS-directed and CIA-financed emigre publication in El Salvador, should abandon its current, general work and instead begin publication of a weekly, entitled approximately "Nosotros Ciudadanos," for circulation to the political followers in Guatemala.

b. PT/13, PT/14. Radio. The clandestine radio, or RUFUS stations, will be heard by political followers and will therefore devote part of its time specifically to them.

c. PT/1, PT/12. Sticker and Handbill Campaign. The CIA-financed ESSENCE group in Guatemala City should abandon its sticker campaigns which attack Communism generally, and instead circulate stickers and handbills that complain about prices, wages, taxes, payroll deductions, poor medical services, graft, mismanagement of land reform, etc.

d. PT/2, PT/12. Overt Press. The Guatemalan overt, independent press can be counted on for a certain amount of criticism of government policies and actions in the social and economic field. ~~██████~~ Guatemala Station assets may be able to systematize this criticism.

e. PT/1, PT/8, PT/12. Anti-Communist labor leaders. These should be equipped with propaganda materials and organizational techniques to enlarge their following and impede Communist recruitment.

D. Mass

1. Description

a. Hostile. The mass of Guatemalans is Indian, illiterate, and politically inert. As long as they acquiesce in the present regime, they must be counted as a hostile asset. In addition, some mass elements have been duped by Communist propaganda or can be mobilized by the enemy for demonstrations and possibly for violence.

b. Friendly. Given the low level of political consciousness and cohesion of the mass, it should be possible to mobilize some of it for expressions of discontent, demonstrations, and possibly violence against the regime.

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## 2. General Approach

Principally emotional, superstitious, non-rational propaganda with the following objectives:

- a. Play on religious and superstitious mass feelings to introduce an atmosphere of worry, uncertainty, and restlessness.
- b. Identify the present regime and situation as religious or superstitious images of evil.

## 3. Media

a. PT/13, PT/14. Radio. The clandestine radio, or RUFUS stations, will be heard by people with access to the mass, and propaganda for mass consumption will therefore be carried by it. Some radio broadcasting may be in an Indian language, depending on availability of linguistically trained personnel.

b. PT/2, PT/12. Overt Press. The overt press should support the radio campaign and carry certain original "worry" propaganda.

c. PT/8, PT/11, PT/12. Anti-Communist labor leaders. These should be encouraged to instill recalcitrance and suspicion of Communist agitators and organizers in peasants and urban workers.

d. PT/11.

e. PT/1, PT/12. ESSENCE Group. Certain stickers and throw-away items of superstitious significance to the Indians should be posted or distributed by the ESSENCE distribution mechanism.

f. PT/11. Landowners. Through landowners' associations, landowners should be guided in ways of worrying their employees about association with Communism and the present regime.

## V. Political Leadership Propaganda Themes:

### A. General Characteristics

1. Political leadership propaganda speaks sweepingly, authoritatively, and decisively. It does not quibble; it does not cry over spilt milk; it does not fuss with statistics, minor incidents or legalisms; it does not argue with Communism. Political leadership propaganda declares and prophesies.

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2. Political leadership propaganda dismisses the recent present. It does not bicker over who betrayed the Guatemalan Revolution of 1944, or who violated the Constitution; nor does it argue the merits and demerits of the Revolution or the Constitution themselves. Political leadership propaganda simply accepts the fact that 1944-1954 constituted an era in Guatemala; that era has completely lost its vitality and outlived its usefulness; it is time for a change. ?

3. Political leadership propaganda honors the past. It declares itself the true heir of and successor to everything powerful, noble, and worthy in Guatemalan history. OK

4. Political leadership propaganda captures the sense of the future. It declares a radical break with the sordid present. It summons up remembrance of past greatness. It calls on the people to enter into the most glorious phase of Guatemalan history. OK

5. The media for political leadership propaganda support each other. El Rebelde leads, in a general, impulsive way; this is desirable because it is visible to the public and therefore can be taken more seriously than a clandestine radio; it is also important for the morale of the most dedicated anti-Communists that they are the spark. The clandestine radio supports Rebelde's campaign, in a more thoughtful, deliberate, authoritative manner. The overt press, where possible, acts as a chorus, repeating, discussing and advertising the work of Rebelde and the radio. K

B. Specific Themes (for thirty-day period)

Radio; PT/13, PT/14	El Rebelde; PT/1, PT/2	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12
<p>1. This is the Voice of the Future. We are in the hills of Guatemala. The Future begins in 1954. Listen to us...</p> <p>2. Repeat above.</p> <p>3. Repeat above.</p> <p>4. Misery of country. All pride and hope are gone. Fear, worry, misery in every heart.</p> <p>5. The people are divided. Nobody trusts anybody. Everybody is out for himself. Civil chaos exists.</p> <p>6. There is no leadership. Corruption, confusion, and timid incompetence reign.</p> <p>7. There is national humiliation at home and abroad.</p>	<p>In its issue of the same week, <u>El Rebelde</u> ceases to be a mere student publication.</p> <p>1. Students are the traditional leaders of Guatemalan politics. They must lead today. Politicos <u>must</u> join and follow them. Paper now speaks for entire national leadership of honest men.</p> <p>2. Country's thinking people are mentally bankrupt:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. Reds depend on USSR</li><li>b. Others depend on Reds</li><li>c. Result is chaos.</li></ul> <p>3. We protest against our own past inadequacy. We resolve to atone by leading the country out of chaos.</p> <p>4. All must join and help.</p> <p><del>SECRET RYBAT</del></p>	<p>1. Notes appearance of radio station.</p> <p>2. Notes changed approach of <u>Rebelde</u> and wishes it well.</p> <p>3. Assists in self-examination of thinkers.</p> <p>4. Elaborates on internal division and humiliation themes.</p>



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no! they are betrayed

Radio; PT/13, PT/14	El Rebelde; PT/1, PT/2	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12
<p>8. Why have we failed? Two reasons: thinkers are isolated from people and borrow from abroad. ✓</p> <p>9. Isolation of leaders from ladinos. ✓</p> <p>10. Isolation of leaders from Indians. ✓</p> <p>11. Loneliness of leaders. Unless we get back to the people, we and the nation will collapse. ✓</p> <p>12. Borrowing from abroad. We applied ideas out of context. Estranged ourselves and hurt nation. ✓</p> <p>13. We borrowed liberal democracy, capitalism and Fascism. Played with one after another like toys. ✓</p> <p>14. In 1944, we borrowed foreign socialist and Popular Front ideas. We had good intentions. But our vanity triumphed. We were not so much interested in sound ideas as in simply being with the intellectual avant-garde. <i>They not like</i></p>	<p>In its issue of the same week, <u>El Rebelde</u> disavows the Revolution of 1944.</p> <p>1. No time to quibble over what went wrong. The fact is that the Revolution, once full of hope, is now a fiasco. ✓</p> <p>2. The Revolution buried Ubico, and that was all to the good. Now it has served its purpose. Let us bury it. ✓</p> <p>3. Revolution has wound up in sordid, hopeless mess. This is no time for false sentimentality about dreams of ten years ago. ✓</p> <p>4. Many able men are now horrified by the Frankenstein they created in 1944. ✓</p> <p>5. On to 1954. ✓</p>	<p>1. Reports that Reds are worried by the radio. ✓</p> <p>2. Discusses <u>Rebelde</u> repudiation of 1944. ✓</p> <p>3. Discusses lack of national solidarity. ✓</p> <p>4. Replies to Red attacks on radio and <u>Rebelde</u>. ✓</p>
<p>15. Now we have Communism, the worst borrowing of all. Its influence is only the sign that we are too lazy to think for ourselves. Folly of borrowing from a Slavic power 6,000 miles away. ✓</p> <p>16. Communism doesn't fit Guatemala because Guatemala is religious. ✓</p> <p>17. Communism doesn't fit because Guatemala is a farming country. ✓</p>	<p>1. Communism is a relative thing. It is withering away. ✓</p> <p>2. Why not have it disappear first in Guatemala: This could give Guatemala a global leadership. ✓</p> <p>3. There is a chance to come out of this chaos stronger than before. ✓</p> <p>4. Inapplicability of Communism to Guatemala. ✓</p>	<p>1. Makes general attack on Communist theory. ✓</p> <p>2. Shows how wrong theories lead to practical fiascos. ✓</p> <p>3. Expresses hope that Guatemala can be "cured." ✓</p> <p>4. Declares Reds and government really worried. ✓</p> <p>5. Replies to Red attacks on radio and <u>Rebelde</u>. ✓</p>

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	El Rebelde; PT/1, PT/2	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12
<p>18. Communism doesn't fit because more than half the Guatemalans are Indians, and Reds can only deal with tribal groups by liquidating them.</p> <p>19. So Communism has no validity for our people. Let's get rid of it and the 1944 Revolution.</p> <p>20. Perhaps the past ten years have been to the good after all. We have run the gamut of irresponsibility and have brought our country to the lowest ebb. Perhaps things had to get so bad in order to get better.</p> <p>21. No use crying over spilt milk. Time to make a fresh start. 1954.</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>✓</p> <p>?</p>	
<p>22. Can we? Can we get out of Communism? Sure. Marxism will wither away just like previous systems. Prove it by Marx.</p> <p>23. Marxism is relative. Will fade in 1954.</p> <p>24. Have we resources for a fresh start? Sure. Look at past history of country.</p> <p>25. More history.</p> <p>26. More history.</p> <p>27. Have we resources? Sure. Look at our country.</p> <p>28. Have we resources? Sure. Look at our people.</p> <p>29. Have we resources? Sure. Look at us.</p> <p>30. Let's go to work. 1954 is the year.</p>	<p>1. Past national greatness.</p> <p>2. Present potential for greatness.</p> <p>3. National pride.</p> <p>4. Let's be really avant-garde by finding what is best for Guatemala. Let us, for once, be true to ourselves and our people.</p> <p>5. Forward into 1954, the year of greatness.</p>	<p>1. Report mounting Red worry and despair. ✓</p> <p>2. Echo radio and <u>Rebelde</u> themes. ✓</p> <p>3. Reply to Red attacks. ✓</p>

To be followed by Stage Three, Build-Up.  
In this stage, a new, positive political program  
for the country will be spelled out.

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VI. Military Leadership Propaganda:

A. General Characteristics

1. Military leadership propaganda does not quibble or bicker.

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*what happened to  
these notes - ?  
no discussion  
of?  
in memo  
book?*

2. Military leadership propaganda emphasizes the concept of "citizens first, soldiers second."

3. Military leadership propaganda emphasizes the concept that loyalty to an illegal regime is treason.

4. Military leadership propaganda combines talk of honor and glory with the "what's-in-it-for-me" approach.

5. The media for military leadership propaganda support each other. "El Ejercito Nuevo" leads, in order to give prestige to the friendly PM forces and to establish RUFUS leadership over those forces. The clandestine radio supports and elaborates on "El Ejercito Nuevo" themes. Because of the sensitivity of the subject, limited support can initially be expected from the overt press and very limited support from the US Missions.

B. Specific Themes (for thirty-day period)

Radio; PT/14, PT/13.	El Ejercito Nuevo; PT/6	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	US Missions; C/S, Guatemala
1. "The Voice of the Future" will be speaking to the Army. Listen at.. 2. Repeat. ✓ 3. Repeat. ✓ 4. Every good soldier must sorrow for his country. We are soldiers, but we are of our people. We know about their plight. Describe. 5. We soldiers have lent aid to Communism. Look what that has done to our land. ✓ 6. Look what that has done to the army. No aid. The army loses, the people lose, the nation loses. 7. We have the issue on which the German offcs failed. Loyalty to an illegal govt. is treason.	<u>El Ejercito Nuevo</u> , which is to appear in place of CEUAGE, and is <u>not</u> to use the CEUAGE symbols, will appear weekly, with four pages of four columns each. 1. Lead editorial-center two columns, p.1 "Time to Regret." States Nurnberg issue—dereliction of soldiers as citizens. 2. Article, Col.1, p.1 describes general misery of country. Cont'd on p.3. ✓ 3. Article, bottom p.1, Cols. 2 & 3, describes how army-commie alliance has hurt country. Cont'd on p.2. Thus, pp 2-3 show link between misery and Communism. ✓ 4. Article, p.1, Col.4 discusses lack of aid, high cost of arms, damage to country at home and abroad. Cont'd p.4. ✓ 5. Feature article discusses weakness of given garrison. ✓ 6. Short notes on transfers, promotions, orders in Guat army—anything to show army it is penetrated by friendly forces.	1. Notes appearance of <u>EEN</u> . ✓ 2. Notes radio show for army. 3. Approves idea that soldiers have civic duties. ✓ 4. Documents Army-Commie alliance. ✓ 5. Comments on military pacts. ✓	1. Needle on aid issue. 2. Advise Guat offcs to stay out of politics—this to keep US hands clean.

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	El Ejercito Nuevo; PT/6	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	US Missions; C/S, Guatemala
<p>8. Commies--what they do to Army &amp; offcs in USSR and elsewhere.</p> <p>9. Commies--what they have done to Guat Army.</p> <p>10. Commies &amp; Arbenz--how they have jointly hurt the Guat Army.</p> <p>11. Argenz--damage he has done to the Army.</p> <p>12. Arbenz--his personal weakness, hypochondria, dependence on wife, fear.</p> <p>13. Summary of week, showing bad situation of army with its present partners.</p> <p>14. Summary of week, urging split of army from present allies.</p>	<p>1. Lead editorial, center two columns, p.1. "Time to Doubt." Raises question whether army had not better change its tack.</p> <p>2. Article, Col.1, p.1 notes specific ills of army--poor leadership, equipment, barracks, organization, etc. Cont'd p.4.</p> <p>3. Article, bottom p.1, Cols. 2&amp;3. General harm that Commies do to Army and Army offcs in USSR and elsewhere. Specific harm done in Guatemala, Cont p.2.</p> <p>4. Article, p.1, Col.4, on the personal and political faults of Commies and Arbenz are linked on facing pages.</p> <p>5. Feature article discusses weakness of another garrison.</p> <p>6. Short notes, as above.</p> <p>7. News story on military pacts.</p> <p>8. Feature article on murder of Col. Arana.</p>	<p>1. Pieces on 1937 Moscow purge trials.</p> <p>2. Speculation on Commie infiltration of Army.</p> <p>3. Advertising of EEN by commenting on it, favorably or unfavorably.</p> <p>4. Replies to Red attacks on radio and EEN.</p> <p>5. Comments on the military pacts.</p>	<p>1. Polite agreement that Communism is bad.</p> <p>2. No comment on Arbenz, except to say that Govt-Army relationship is different in US.</p> <p>3. Horror stories about Russians.</p>
<p>15. If army doesn't split, Commies plan to infiltrate, dismiss, liquidate.</p> <p>16. Arbenz will let Army down by going with Reds.</p> <p>17. Then Commies build their PM force. Progress already made in that line.</p> <p>18. More on Commie plans for PM force Bolivian case.</p>	<p>1. Lead editorial, center two columns "Time to Think." Says army will meet terrible fate if it continues present course.</p> <p>2. Article, Col.1, p.1 Commie plans for Army infiltration and PM force. Cont'd p.2.</p> <p>3. Article, bottom p.1., Cols. 2&amp;3, "A Better Future," Discusses basic ability and integrity of some army offcs and says they could do better than present.</p> <p>4. Feature article on murder of Col. Arana.</p>	<p>1. Speculation on Commie plans for infiltration and PM force.</p> <p>2. Reply to Red attacks.</p> <p>3. Innocuous pieces on Arbenz' illness.</p> <p>4. Speculation on Arbenz-Commie break under Army pressure. Make speculation chiefly negative.</p>	<p>1. Discuss Commie ways of taking over an Army.</p> <p>2. Never trust a politician, especially a Red one.</p> <p>3. Dangers of partisan warfare if partisan force grows too big.</p>

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	El Ejercito Nuevo; PT/6	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	US Missions; C/S, Guatemala
<p>19. In that case, Arbenz will go along with that against the Army. 20. Arbenz will fold completely, leaving Army to be liquidated by Reds. 21. Army can prevent this miserable fate by timely decisions.</p>	<p>4. Article, p.1, Col.4. Arbenz plans to go along with Commies on everything and finally fold up. Cont'd p.3. Thus, Commie &amp; Arbenz plans again on facing pages. 5. Feature article discusses weakness of another garrison. 6. P.4 feature on progress of military pacts. 7. Short notes, as above.</p>		
<p>22. Issues are clear. Army and people against Arbenz &amp; Reds. Duty of Army to stand with people. 23. Who is the Army? Some in it have compromised so much that they are not fit to stand with the people. 24. Sample crimes that would make offcs unfit to stand with people. Many are guilty. 25. However, the people can also be generous. If the less guilty repent now, they can escape wrath. Many can also get honorable positions in future. 26. Choose now. Wipe out past guilt. Get on the bandwagon.</p>	<p>(Possibly six pages) 1. Lead editorial, center two columns, "Time to Choose." If offcs want to be on the right side, with the triumph over Reds, they must atone for past errors and start serving the good now. 2. Article, p.1, Col.1, "Questions." What crimes will be avenged when right triumphs? List of abuses--from collaboration with Commies on--that will be avenged. Stated in general fashion so that readers will worry but still think they can qualify for the bandwagon. Cont'd p.4., Col.1. 3. Article, p.1, Col.4, "Answers." Lists punishment for crimes in Col.1. Sample court-martial charge is reprinted. Cont'd p.4, Col.4. 4. Article, bottom p.1, two center columns: "Army and People against Arbenz and the Reds." Pictures Army as sons of people, Arbenz and Reds as men who have gone astray. Cont'd p.4, top, center two columns.</p>	<p>1. Speculative discussion of <u>EEN</u> and radio materials. 2. Speculation as to Army reaction. 3. Replies to Red attacks. 4. Speculation as to strength of rebel forces.</p>	<p>1. Say very little. Avoid contact, but when made, show great concern over stability of situation. 2. Ask Guat offcs if they think it safe for US families to stay.</p>

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Radio; PT/13,  
PT/14

El Ejercito Nuevo; PT/6

<p>27. Hurry, for the lists are closing. All around, some have made their choice, when these programs first started. Very few rejected. Hurry, don't be late.</p> <p>28. Same general theme as 27.</p> <p>29. Army and people. The process of selection is underway. Not a time to act, but a time to choose.</p> <p>30. Same general theme as 29.</p>	<p>5. P.2, biography of Bolivar and other great South American military figures who fought for political freedom.</p> <p>6. P.3, biographies of Guat. military leaders who fought for political freedom.</p> <p>7. Feature on a garrison.</p> <p>8. Short notes, as above.</p> <p>9. Comments on aid agreements.</p>
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VII. Follower-Level Propaganda:A. General Characteristics

1. Follower-level propaganda is simple, direct, factual in tone.
2. Follower-level propaganda appeals to the materialistic instincts of the target audience.
3. Follower-level propaganda attempts to establish the inter-relationship of poverty and Communism.
4. Follower-level propaganda attempts to inculcate a fear of punishment in people who do not stop collaboration with the Communists.

B. Specific Themes (for thirty-day period)

Radio; PT/13, PT/14	NC; PT/3, PT/12	Overt Press/Stickers; PT/2, PT/12 PT/1, PT/12	Labor; PT/8, PT/12, PT/
1. Citizens! From this day on, <u>Voz del Futuro</u> will bring you vital news about your daily bread. That bread is in danger...	In first week, FAGE changes name to " <u>Nosotros Ciudadanos</u> ."	Targets of opportunity on that week's bad news on	1. Mass of garment workers harnessed to pull elegant car carrying Arbenz & wife. 2. Complain that labor cod

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	NG; PT/3, PT/12	Overt Press Stickers; PT/2, PT/12 PT/1, PT/12	Labor; PT/8; PT/11, PT/12
<p>2. Repeat.</p> <p>3. Repeat.</p> <p>4. Financial instability and dangers to the currency. Money you receive for work may be worth much less. Govt. is spending so much on arms and for the Commie profiteers that it cannot keep finances sound.</p> <p>5. Danger of large-scale unemployment. Money may not exist to meet payrolls or finance production. Secret plans of govt. to curtail farm production because coffee markets are threatened. Plans to reduce govt. payrolls.</p> <p>6. Description of poor housing, social services, wages too low, prices too high, onerous taxation, a general catalogue of misery.</p> <p>7. Possible threat to food supply. Diet for many people already too low. Poor govt. farm policies threaten food supply; govt. stockpiling of food plans may make less available to public. Forcible seizure of crops may follow seizure of land.</p>	<p>1. Lead editorial, "What's Wrong?" Describes general economic misery of country.</p> <p>2. Article on fiscal, budgetary, financial plight of govt. Govt. credit in doubt. Currency unstable.</p> <p>3. Article on the plight of businessmen. Fn. markets in danger. Confiscation at home. May have to discharge workers.</p> <p>4. Article on the plight of labor. Wages too low, prices too high. Poor housing, low social services. Diets inadequate, clothing shabby.</p> <p>5. Article on the plight of farmers. Farm prices too low, urban prices too high. No aid for farm improvement. Chaos in land reform.</p> <p>6. Article on the plight of govt. workers. Wages too low, prices too high. Job uncertainty. Miserable existence.</p> <p>(NOTE: Each piece &amp; short item in this issue must present a picture of gloom.)</p>	<p>the economic front. Emphasis on specific cases. Re-portages on life of one poor urban and one poor farm family.</p> <p>2. 1 bill torn in half.</p> <p>3. Comic book showing Peller giving farmers land, letting them cultivate, then seizing harvest and land, kicking farmer off.</p>	<p>shackles union organization and bargaining</p> <p>3. Call for effective government measures vs. unemployment.</p> <p>4. Request gov assurances that workers will not be hurt by any devaluation of the currency.</p>

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	NO; PT/3, PT/12	Overt Press; Stickers; PT/2, PT/12 PT/1, PT/12	Labor; PT/8, PT/11, PT/12
<p>8. Responsibility for Guat misery lies with govt. and Commies. Communism equals misery. Cite alleged high number deaths from starvation in other Red countries. Cite industrial inefficiency in same. Cite Red incompetence in economics.</p> <p>9. Guat Govt. pays tribute money to Moscow to keep rotten Soviet economy going. Make up fake account of sums sent; Guats money actually pays for Soviet articles lauding Guat, and Guats get charged higher rates than other countries.</p> <p>10. From what little is left after inefficiency and pay to Moscow, Guat leaders take get-away money.</p> <p>11. What is left after that is spent in personal enrichment and high living. Reds in mink.</p> <p>12. First govt. dept. always deprived of money when Moscow demands is Social Welfare, because leaders figure people will put up with anything. Next to suffer is Education. People remain sick and illiterate because of govt. contempt for them.</p> <p>13. Cost of internal spy system. This takes care of people who do see through the colossal deceit being perpetrated.</p> <p>14. Why are things wrong? Summarize all above.</p>	<p>In second week, NC carries:</p> <p>1. Lead editorial "Why is There Misery?" Attributes it to Arbenz and Communists.</p> <p>2. Article on high living of functionaries. As much proof as possible. Should be true.</p> <p>3. Article alleging Arbenz, govt. leaders have large cash and gold in US, Swiss, Uruguayan banks. Own diamonds as get-away reserve. Mix truth &amp; fiction. Speak of secret accounts.</p> <p>4. Article totaling up cost of internal spy system. People's money used against people.</p> <p>5. Article stressing high cost govt. propaganda. Words instead of bread.</p> <p>6. Article on Reds sending money to Moscow.</p> <p>7. Article blaming stupid economic policies of govt.</p> <p>8. Pictures of big homes of govt. officials.</p> <p>9. Fake photos of jewels banked abroad by govt. leaders. Contrast with hungry Guat.</p>	<p>1. Attack Communist inefficiency in economics.</p> <p>2. Review specific fiascos, i.e., October fair, Roosevelt hospital.</p> <p>3. Recommend investigation Ministry of Economics to remove popular worry.</p> <p>4. Plead with govt. to open books on its subsidy to Moscow in order to calm people.</p> <p>5. Plead with govt. leaders to account for personal finances to dispel ugly rumors.</p>	<p>1. Guats pouting money in pipeline which ends in USSR.</p> <p>2. Hungry Guat with empty plate. On it "Tribuna Popular." "You can't eat propaganda."</p> <p>3. Targets of opportunity.</p> <p>1. General attack on govt. and Red economic policy.</p> <p>2. Requests for agitation for higher wages.</p> <p>3. Requests for govt. assurance that money will keep its value.</p> <p>4. Requests for improved social services.</p> <p>5. Challenge Red unions to open their books on money going to Moscow.</p> <p>7. Targets of opportunity.</p>

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14

NC; PT/3, PT/12

Overt Press; Stickers;  
PT/2, PT/12 PT/1, PT/12

Labor; PT/8,  
PT/11, PT/12

15. People's collab. with Reds has led to misery. The people themselves are responsible for their plight because they have been politically passive. If collab. continues, situation will get much worse.

16. If farmers keep collaborating, they will be pressed into kohlkhozes with forced delivery, etc.

17. If workers keep collaborating, they will be pressed into govt. unions, without right to strike, with forced payroll deductions, with impossible norms, etc.

18. If govt. workers keep collaborating, they will have same labor norms, payroll deductions, brutal punishment for lateness, small mistakes. Specially, vacations will be cut.

19. If businessmen keep collaborating, they will be completely expropriated, tried as reactionaires.

20. If women keep collaborating, they will be put in labor brigades, their children taken away to state schools, church attendance forbidden, etc.

21. Summary of above--collaborators dig their own graves.

In third week, NC plays two main themes: eco situation will get much worse and people only get govt. they deserve.

1. Lead editorial: "We are the Guilty!"

Stresses depression of Guat due to

collaboration of people with Reds.

Businessmen pay re-insurance money;

workers go along with Red unions;

govt. employees obey illegal orders, etc. If collab.

continues, situation will get worse.

2. Article on real or notional cases of businessmen, workers, govt. employees who collaborated and were then deprived of land, fired, etc.

3. Long article, or several articles, on alleged Commie plans:

expropriation all private industry &

shops, expropriation of small landholders

and institution of kohlkhozes, forced

farm deliveries, pay deductions for "state

loans," cessation of consumer goods im-

ports, impossible work norms, food &

clothing rationing. Articles should be

brim-full of statistics, but popularly

presented.

1. Speculation on radio opportunity. and NC themes.

2. Description of farmers, govt. workers, etc., in Commie

countries.

3. Ask govt. to deny the

"nefarious charges of

NC and radio.

Targets of opportunity.

1. Request assurances from

govt. that no kohlkhozes planned

2. Request assurances that

right to strike will not be

ended.

3. Request assurances woman

labor will not be made compul-

sory since it would flood

labor market.

4. Circulate info. on labor

conditions in Commie lands.

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	NC; PT/3, PT/12	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	Stickers; PT/1, PT/12	Labor; PT/8, PT/11, PT/12
22. Prosperity or punishment theme. 23. Prospects for farmers if they abjure Communism. 24. Prospects for labor. 25. Prospects for govt. employees. 26. Prospects for business. 27. Punishment for those who do not change in time. Lists of guilty are being prepared. Get off those lists now. 28. Repeat theme of 27. 29. Report that movement has already received word from some people that they will change. 30. Recapitulate prosperity or punishment theme.	1. Lead editorial: "Punishment or Prosperity." Says Reds mean economic doom. Prosperity is possible if people change their political attitude. However, not everyone will be permitted to enjoy fruits of new order. People must change soon, not overtly, but silently. 2. Article showing sample legal indictments of people for collaboration. Make up indictment for businessman, landholder, govt. worker, etc. 3. Articles of "chicken in every pot" variety, pointing out what great economic and social improvements can be made in land. (Bright prospects--but no firm promises.) 4. Counsel patient resolution.	1. Discussion of the bright prospects mentioned by radio and NC. 2. Mood piece on mental turmoil that radio and NC call for choice is creating.	"Prosperity or Punishment"	1. Ask govt. to provide improvement in economy on impossible scale 2. General appeal to workers to think of their future--not specific.

#### VIII. Mass Propaganda:

##### A. General Characteristics

1. Mass propaganda plays on the sub-conscious. It deals with principally non-political subjects, such as weather, harvests, natural phenomena, omens, customs, etc. Mass propaganda attempts to disrupt people's sense of what is established and certain; it attempts to make the world look shadowy, unsure and foreboding.

2. Mass propaganda speaks in a variety of manners. It may make a sharp, direct attack; it may deal in veiled allusions; it may be deliberately self-contradictory; it may be outlandish.

3. Mass propaganda must be most closely geared to the moment, to the moods, habits, topics of public interest and customs prevailing

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at the time it is put out. For this reason, although themes are assigned to media (below), these themes are only illustrative since research and events may dictate the need for great flexibility.

4. Rumor plays a major part in mass propaganda. No rumor topics are assigned below, since rumors should constitute targets of opportunity. ✓

B. Specific Themes (for thirty-day period)

Radio; PT/13, PT/14	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	Labor; PT/8, PT/11, PT/12	Church PT/11	Stickers; PT/1, PT/12	Land- owners PT/11
Items are to be inserted in regular newscasts. First week objective is to create uncertainty. 1. Sun spots will cause strange happenings. 2. Plant blights of new and malignant variety discovered. 3. Possibility of odd weather conditions. 4. Strange predictions of witch doctors. 5. Strange illnesses in hinterland. 6. Poor harvest prospects. 7. Some outlandish incident, like birth of sextuplets.	1. Discuss or deny radio reports. 2. Medical column, if possible. Articles should dwell on any ailments govt. leaders are known to have. 3. Odd incidents should be copiously reported. 4. Use worst possible pictures of govt. leaders, making them appear old or ill.	1. Tell appropriate audiences that certain Red agitators have something like "evil eye."	1. Stress anti-religious nature of regime. 2. Laymen label specific govt. leaders as doomed to hell-fire.	1. "Que pasa?" 2. Indian symbol.	1. Discuss plant blight and poor harvest danger with farmers. 2. Tell farmers Red agitators have "evil eye."
Second week objective is to create confusion. 8. Govt. plans ban on bullfights.	1. Follow-up on radio claims, getting govt. denials. 2. Medical column.	1. Same as preceding week, but widen circle of men accused. 2. Relay radio items.	Same as preceding week, widening circle of men accused.	1. "Por que?" 2. "Nest of snakes" or "can of worms" type of sticker to convey idea of confusion.	1. Evil eye propaganda. 2. Discuss radio items with workers.

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	Labor; PT/8, PT/11, PT/12	Church PT/11	Stickers; PT/1, PT/12	Land- owners PT/
9. Food in certain areas is unfit to eat. 10. Deny or amplify items carried in previous week. 11. Bus schedules are going to be changed. 12. Govt. will forbid some established custom. 13. Rich govt. leaders will distribute their fincas to the poor. 14. Ambiguous reply to govt. denials of some of above.					
Third week objective is to create fear. 15. Volcanos are going to become active again. 16. Ghost of Arana seen, but not confirmed. 17. Meteorite believed landed in Peten waste. 18. Warnings to notional individuals that some catastrophe is about to strike them. 19. Repeat 18. for different individuals. 20. Notional confirmation of 18. 21. Report of strange fear gripping an area.	1. Speculation on radio items, where possible. 2. Medical column. 3. Science articles, of Velikovsky type.	1. Continue "evil eye" campaign. 2. Spread radio reports.	1. Same as preceding week. 2. Lay groups discuss nature of Armageddon.	1. "Fear" 2. Some terrifying symbol.	1. Continue "evil eye" propaganda. 2. Repeat radio items.

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Radio; PT/13, PT/14	Overt Press; PT/2, PT/12	Labor; PT/8 PT/11, PT/12	Church	Stickers; PT/1, PT/12	Land- owners
In fourth week, objective is to convey a sense of change. 22. Witch doctor predictions that great changes are coming. 23. Horoscope items on change. 24. Old legends-- e.g., that volcanos explode to punish the wicked. 25. Old legends. 26. Notion letters read, claiming that all will be well in country if people mend their ways. 27. More letters. 28. Unexpected eclipse of the sun may come, with unforeseen consequences. 29. Ghost of Arana counsels people to be patient and wait. 30. Old legend emphasizing patience.	1. Comments on radio items. 2. Medical column. 3. Discuss subject of change.	1. Evil eye theme. 2. Repeat radio items.	1. Same as preceding weeks. 2. Laymen spread theme that judgment is coming.	1. "Cambio" 2. "Que pasara?"	1. Continue evil eye theme. 2. Repeat radio items. 3. Assure workers that all will be well if they avoid Reds.

IX. Other Media:

As other media become available, they will be used to exploit the above themes and such others as may be approved and appear appropriate.

X. Targets of Opportunity:

All media will utilize targets of opportunity.

XI. Flexibility:

The foregoing is a planning guide for Headquarters, LINCOLN, and field stations (on a need-to-know basis). Its implementation depends upon a variety of factors, such as acceptability to [ ] and CALLIGERIS,

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organization of KUGOWN assets, the trend of actual events, etc. While the above general plan is to be followed, operational necessities and desirabilities will inevitably require many changes in detail.

XII. Recommendation:

1. Recommend that the foregoing be approved in principle.
2. Recommend that general procedures be established for the coordination of future additions and changes to the plan.

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